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Communist control and to emphasize the importance of professional training and experience. At his suggestion, on the 23rd of May, Dr. Pamer, a former Police President, replaced a Communist as Police President of Vienna. Finally, on the 13th of June, the whole force was formally taken over by the Police Directorate, a purely Austrian authority.

By July the Vienna police were nearly 7,500 strong, though only some 1,000 of them had had previous police experience and many still owed their position to their political opinions. In September, at British instigation, the first meeting of the Allied Public Safety Committee was called. From then on the Austrian police were under Quadripartite supervision, and the three Western Powers were able to counterbalance Russian influence.

Dr. Renner's main concern, after his first few months in office, was to ensure the real unity of Austria. The Provisional Government had announced the restoration of the Austrian Republic and declared itself to be the Government for all Austria. Yet *de facto* its authority still only extended to those parts of the country that were occupied by the Russians; that is to say, Vienna, Burgenland, Lower Austria, and parts of Upper Austria and Styria. The Chancellor's two aims were to obtain the recognition of the Four Powers for his Government and reintegrate the country under its control. The continued division carried with it real dangers. Economically, the position was absurd. In so small a country, each part was dependent on the others for its survival. But the iron of Styria was cut off from the engineering industries of the Russian zone. The salt and meat of Salzburg and the Tyrol could not be brought to Vienna, and the oil, grain, and potatoes of Lower Austria were not available to the West. It had always been difficult to feed Vienna. Yet the task had become impossible in a house, as Dr. Renner put it, 'where the larder was walled off from the kitchen by zonal frontiers'.

Since 1918 the mutual suspicion between Vienna and the provinces had been a menace to the country as a whole. The interests of the city and the rural areas were utterly different,

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and the contrast was accentuated by the fact that the capital was Socialist and the provinces largely Conservative. The isolation of Vienna from most of the provinces would therefore tend to revive an unhealthy animosity that years of common subjection to Berlin had done much to overcome. The Chancellor had every reason to fear such a development, because a movement for the formation of an Austrian government in the provinces occupied by the Western Allies had followed the liberation. This fortunately had failed. Had it succeeded, Austria might have shared the fate of Germany. Yet the attempt justified Dr. Renner's misgivings. Salzburg was the only province, outside Russian territory, that endeavoured to recognize the Provisional Government, and its overture to Vienna on the 24th of May led to a rebuke from the American Military Governor.

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Conditions made it difficult to counteract separatist tendencies. The country was divided, and there were still no normal transport services between the different zones. It was easier to travel from Russian-occupied Austria to Czechoslovakia than to the Austrian western provinces; and easier to move between the cities of Salzburg and Munich, which were both occupied by the Americans, than between Salzburg and the Austrian capital. A messenger sent by Dr. Renner from Vienna to the Tyrol in May took seventeen days to make the journey and had to swim the River Enns, when he crossed the Russian frontier. An experienced member of the Resistance, well accustomed to travelling under difficulties, took a week to cover the same distance by car during the summer.

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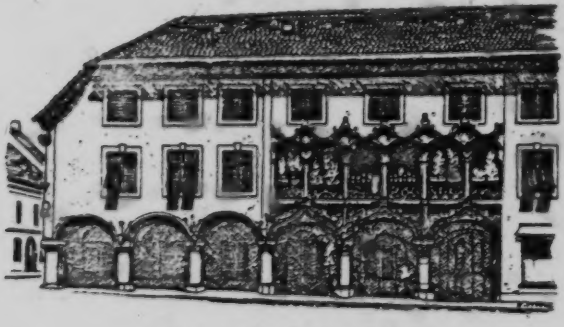
The Western Allies at first decided not to recognize the Provisional Government. They were suspicious of it as a Russian creation in which Communist influence was unduly strong. Fortunately events so developed that this decision was reversed.

On the 4th of July the Governments of the four occupying Powers reached an agreement in London setting up a Control Commission for Austria. It was to consist of an Allied Council, comprising the four Allied High Commissioners, an Executive Committee, and departmental staffs. Vienna was to be con-

their slaves, the Slavs, before them with their whips. After the year 800 A.D. when Charlemagne had broken the tyranny of the Avars, there came monks from Salzburg to preach Christian doctrines and with them Bavarian peasants. But soon the Magyar invaders swept in to interrupt the peaceful work of these settlers among the natives. Only after the Battle of Lechfeld was it resumed. Then, with the vigour of the adolescent Western world as a spur, a civilisation based on the hard work of a simple peasantry grew throughout the centuries into that unobtrusive, modest culture which has survived all the hard tests of the past. In those early days the villages grew up on river banks and in sheltered corners between hills, overshadowed and protected by the castles of the ruling knights; the Riegersburg, which crowns the steep slopes of the Felsberg, is a fine example of the latter. Protection from the danger which always threatened from the East was afforded by the frontier towns of Friedberg, Hartberg, Fürstenfeld and Radkersburg. The burghers who lived in them and in the market-towns, proud of their social position, yet in close contact with the country-folk, kept the latter in touch with the developments of the age and brought to them profitable trade.

The Raab, the chief river of East Styria, flows broad, sluggish and dark from the districts where the villages melt into fertile fields and the storks nest on roof-tops and chimneys. As it hurries through Passail the river is still an immature mountain stream. From this remote and pleasant market-town Peter Engelbrecht once found his way to the Imperial Court in order to teach Latin grammar to Maximilian, later the first emperor of this name. Further on, below the old Stubenberg castle of Stubegg lies Arzberg, where, as the name suggests, lead ore (with a silver content) was mined.



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